



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY
THE WHITE HOUSE



Attached is a memorandum which contains a brief analysis of and selected quotations from Khrushchev's recent public statements on foreign policy and relations with the United States. We will incorporate it into the briefing papers for the President's talks with Khrushchev, but you may find it of some immediate use also.

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Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

As stated above.

Khrushchev's Recent Foreign Policy Remarks

In speeches on May 6 and 7 in Yerevan, and May 12 in Tbilisi, Soviet Premier Khrushchev devoted some attention to foreign policy questions.

The salient feature of Khrushchev's foreign policy remarks was their moderation, particularly as regards the United States. Khrushchev expressed the desire to improve relations with the United States, refrained from attacking directly the Administration, and took a generally non-provocative stance on international issues. This was true even of his remarks concerning the recent Cuba events, although the Soviet leader did note that these events had aroused world-wide indignation and warned of the consequences of any further United States moves.

Khrushchev's moderation contrasted strongly with the generally critical tone which the Soviet press and radio had been taking toward the United States Government and President Kennedy personally after the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba and also in connection with Laotian developments. This critical comment centered on charges that the United States was reverting to the "cold war" tactics and "adventurism" of the Eisenhower administration. During the first three weeks of May (through May 18), this line tapered off, but still was fairly pronounced. However, since the announcement of the President's forthcoming meeting with Khrushchev, Soviet radio and press comments on the Administration have been conciliatory. These comments welcome the Vienna talks, and express qualified optimism that the meeting will produce an improvement in East-West relations.

Khrushchev's remarks on foreign policy are probably the most moderate he has made in a public address since before the U-2 incident last year. This moderation is

reminiscent of the restraint exercised by the Soviet Premier in his public remarks regarding the United States while on a visit to Poland in July 1959, at which time his visit to the United States was being privately discussed. No doubt the prospect of a meeting with President Kennedy was a major motivation in the Soviet leader's recent restraint.

Khrushchev's recent speeches are the only ones in which he has voluntarily taken up foreign policy issues at length since his October 20, 1960 address in Moscow reporting on the Soviet delegation's participation in the 15th UNGA session. (Khrushchev's January 6 report on the November Moscow conference of world communist parties, of course, discussed communist foreign policy strategy at length. But this speech was prompted by the Moscow conference and Sino-Soviet differences rather than current international developments.) This circumstance also supports the conclusion that the Soviet premier has been biding his time and that the foreign policy sections of the recent addresses were made with the forthcoming Soviet-United States meeting in mind.

Another notable feature of the Khrushchev speeches was the emphasis placed on the theme of Soviet economic growth as the key factor in communism's struggle against the free world. Moreover, the importance of economic growth was stressed not in terms of its military significance but as the means for satisfying the material needs of the Soviet people, and on this grounds convincing the world that the communist system is the wave of the future.

Finally, the Soviet Premier discussed briefly some of the East-West issues which he probably intends to bring to the fore in discussions with the United States, including disarmament and a German peace treaty.

There is attached a series of quotes from the Khrushchev speeches on these various themes and issues.

Attachments:

As stated.

QUOTATIONS FROM RECENT KHRUSHCHEV SPEECHES

I. US - Soviet Relations

Seeks Good Relations with New Administration

The coming into power of the new government in the United States has given some people the hope that the new leaders of the United States will show a wiser approach to the settlement of international questions, including the question of disarmament. This would have led to the improvement of the entire international situation. As for the Soviet Union, we have made and we still are making efforts to improve our relations with the Western countries, including the United States of America.

This is most important for the settlement of vital international problems which touch upon the interests of peoples of all countries.

(May 6 Speech in Yerevan)

Disarmament and Soviet-US Talks

We have approached this fundamental question from various angles. We have suggested partial measures and measures of a general character. The Soviet proposal for general and full disarmament under strict international control has been submitted to the United Nations. We stated clearly: Let the Western powers accept our plan for disarmament and we will then accept any plan they have for control over disarmament ...

Soon, talks are to take place between the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States on the question of disarmament. We are preparing for these talks with complete seriousness, and we hope that the other country also will approach these talks with the same sense of responsibility. But let anyone who thinks that such talks can be reduced to a mere formality, to a discussion of procedural questions, be responsible if such an approach lacks in seriousness.

(Ibid.)

II. Cuba

Regrets Cuban Situation

We regret that aggressive forces in the United States have managed to provoke an attack upon the Cuban Republic. Not only our people, whose attitude towards other peoples is one of sincere respect, but all honest people in other countries could not remain indifferent to the incursion of mercenary gangs into Cuba.

It should be noted that in the United States itself -- among ordinary people, the intelligentsia, journalists and even among eminent public figures and congressmen -- voices were heard condemning this adventurous policy. Peoples throughout the world were indignant at the fact that this treacherous attack was launched against Cuba which does not threaten anyone. And we understand the anger of the peoples.

(Ibid.)

Hopes for US-Cuban Settlement

The Government of the Soviet Union sent the Government of the United States messages in which it condemned the armed incursion and warned that it could bring terrible consequences. The aggression against Cuba has brought about an exacerbation of the international situation but we would like to look optimistically upon the further development of events in this part of the world. The peoples expect the statesmen of the United States to draw the correct conclusions and the necessary lessons from what has happened.

Cuba became a victim of aggression. However, its leaders showed not only a reasonable approach but nobility and proposed holding talks with the United States to eliminate the tension in the relations between the countries and normalize the situation in the Caribbean area -- Cuba and the United States are neighbors and must live like good neighbors. Certain sober people in the United States are

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calling for action on the principle of "live and let live." It would be a good thing if the United States used this principle in its relations with Cuba and other countries. Such an approach would be to the mutual advantage both of Cuba and of the United States and would not damage anybody's prestige.

(Ibid.)

Danger of New US Move Against Cuba

If, however, contrary to common sense, the imperialists in the United States embark on a new open adventure against the Cuban Republic, a situation fraught with serious consequences above all for the United States itself, will be created. In our times, the adventures of the imperialist cannot be unpunished.

(Ibid.)

Why Cuba Scares US

American Government statesmen are terribly frightened of Cuba. "Cuba," they say, "how can it be? Cuba is constructing socialism. It is next door, 90 miles from America." They say this is a threat for America. But what is the meaning of this "threat?" America has 160 million, Cuba has 6 million. No right-thinking person can agree that 6 million Cubans could shake a republic with 160 million. But in fact they do fear (Cuba?). What is the source of this fear? The matter lies elsewhere: not in the quantity but in the quality of people, in the fact that Cuba has declared that it has entered the path of constructing socialism. This is its strength, and this is the weakness of America. This is what pleases me as a communist. This is the reward we communists receive: when American monopolists or their representatives say that Cuba threatens them, by the same token they admit

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the weakness of capitalism and the strength of communism^{1/}.

(May 7 Speech in Yerevan)

III. Laos

Soviet Position on Laos

The attention of the peoples of the world is also drawn to events in Laos ... A rebellion has been set afoot against the lawful government. Its aim was to involve Laos in the SEATO military bloc. But the people of Laos do not want to participate in any military blocs. Hence a struggle arose which threatened to turn into a major conflagration. Now measures are being taken to put out the sparks of a military conflagration. The fighting sides have already called a cease-fire and talks on the peaceful settlement in Laos to begin in Geneva in a few days.

All the sincere partisans of peace cannot but welcome the convening of the conference on Laos. Yet this is but the beginning. All the parties concerned must help the Laotian people to gain peace on the basis of the creation of a genuinely independent and neutral Laos which would be safe from any interference in its domestic affairs from without.

The people of Laos just as any other people, have the right to live as they wish and to build their state in accordance with their own interests. We have met with respect the statement of the Premier of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma, that his government adheres and will adhere in the future to a policy of neutrality. This is the best attitude for Laos, whose people wish to devote their efforts not to participation in the armaments race but to peaceful constructive work.

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^{1/} Except for this statement and a Pravda account of Castro's May 1 speech, Soviet officials and propaganda media have publicly ignored Castro's claim to have established a "socialist" regime in Cuba. While indicating gratification at communist gains in Cuba, Khrushchev stops short of endorsing this claim.

We wish the forthcoming conference in Geneva to prove a success. Not too much is needed for that. The Western states have to abandon the attempts to turn Laos into their military place d'armes and must abstain from interfering in its domestic affairs.

As for the Soviet Union, we declare once again that we want to see Laos an independent and neutral state which does not participate in any aggressive military blocs...

The Soviet Union stands for the liquidation of all military groupings so that the controversial issues arising between states may be settled peacefully by negotiation between them, as well as through the United Nations.

(May 6 speech in Yerevan)

IV. Peaceful Coexistence

Coexistence Issues

We want to settle the problem of disarmament, put an end to the remnants of the Second World War in Europe, conclude a German peace treaty, thus doing away with all barriers which obstruct the normalization of relations between countries and hinder the preservation and ensuring of peace throughout the world. The peoples are interested in the creation of conditions for the peaceful coexistence of all states, irrespective of their social and political order. Our aims are clear. We do not want anything for ourselves which would infringe upon the interests of other states or peoples. The Soviet Government has done and is doing everything to put an end to the hotbeds of exacerbation and to achieve the peaceful settlement of controversial problems between states.

(Ibid.)

Coexistence Terms

Although President Kennedy and I are men of different poles, we live on the same earth. Therefore we will probably understand and assess the socialist and the capitalist systems differently. But it seems we must be realistic about the true state of things -- we must see that there are now on our planet Earth socialist countries which include over a billion inhabitants; there are capitalist countries which have a highly developed monopoly, capital; and there are countries which have just liberated themselves or are in the process of liberating themselves from colonial slavery. And, of course, we apparently have different understanding of these categories of people, and we have a different notion of freedom. But realistically proceeding, so to speak, from the existing situation, we have to coexist on our planet, and consequently we have to find a common language in certain questions. And the question of struggle for peace, for the preservation of peace, is, so to speak, a question which concerns all men throughout the world, irrespective of the social or political structure of the states. And we are ready to base our relations with any state on that question, with a view to insuring peace all over the world.

I repeat that we do not need war to achieve the domination of the most progressive ideas, Marxist-Leninist ideas. We do not need war for that purpose! War only harms our Marxist-Leninist idea.' We believe in our socialist state, scientifically founded and created on scientifically based principles, and in our further development toward the construction of communist society. And we are confident that superiority among all the systems which have existed until now is on the side of communism, of Marxism-Leninism, and these will triumph.

(May 12 speech in Tbilisi)

War Impossible in Nuclear Age

The armaments race and the accumulation of weapons, especially nuclear, entails a very great danger for the peoples. Should the imperialists succeed in launching a new world war it would lead to enormous sacrifices and material destruction which would be difficult even to imagine. Clearly the peoples cannot accept the idea that a new world war is unavoidable. The peoples must take measures to prevent the imperialist atomic maniacs from turning towns into ashes and transforming fertile lands and orchards into uninhabitable deserts. The Soviet Union and the mighty socialist camp have grown into an indestructible bulwark of mankind in its struggle for peace, for the prevention of a destructive nuclear war. It is wonderful luck that the Soviet Union and the mighty socialist camp exist and support the position of peaceful coexistence. They are the deterring factor against the forces which are striving to launch a war.

(May 6 Speech in Yerevan)

V. Economic Competition

Communism's Victory Path is Through the Belly

Therefore Messrs. monopolists, imperialists, and other 'ists,' for you has come a time of very hard competition with us because now we will be proving things not only by means of lectures, so to speak, and other scientific propositions; now we shall widen the so-called circle of those who understand the conditions, advantages of the socialist system because we shall begin to demonstrate this with the greater amount of material and spiritual benefits which our people will receive and that is the most forceful of all, for, you understand, if a man may sometimes find it hard to understand with his mind, then his belly will help him to understand that socialism is the more progressive (movement in the world?).

Therefore

Therefore we have already entered the struggle to introduce and broaden understanding of communist construction both through the mind and the stomach... And we shall so to speak, fill -- and shall with every day fill increasingly -- our communist cup, which in our case is to serve the needs of our people.

(May 12 Speech in Tbilisi)

Kennedy Admits Attractive Power of Soviet Economy

There was a time when we communists could prove the advantages of the socialist economic system over the capitalist one only in theory when the ringleaders and ideologists of the bourgeois world, ridiculing our economic, technological and cultural backwardness, were proclaiming that socialism was a utopia and were calling our plans of technological and cultural revolution a propaganda trick. But that time has passed, not to return. Now socialism speaks for itself; it speaks in the language of facts, and its young, powerful voice is heard in all parts of the world.

As a communist, I was pleased with the statement made by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, in which he said -- well, he defamed our system of the socialist state; but the main thing that gladdens me is that the peoples of the world can see for themselves what system is what, what it is called and what it represents -- the working class, first of all, and the toiling peasantry and our working intelligentsia. That is the acknowledgment and testimonial of our Communist Party, this is what makes sense.

But what I liked in Mr. Kennedy's statement is this: he said that in 40 years the peoples of the Soviet Union have achieved great successes in the development of their economy and that these successes can be attractive to peoples with a backward economy, with a low living standard.

Yes,

Yes, Mr. President, you understand correctly and we, our people, the great Communist Party of our country, take pride and rejoice in the fact that the successes of our peoples are successes which have a great force of attraction to all peoples of the world.

(Ibid.)

Emphasizes Consumer Goods

Premier Khrushchev said today his Government was beginning to turn greater attention to consumer goods and would no longer give priority to the production of heavy industry.

"Now we consider our heavy industry as built," Mr. Khrushchev declared at a reception in honor of officials and exhibitors of the large British Trade Fair that opened in Moscow yesterday.

"So we are not going to give it priority. Light industry and heavy industry will develop at the same pace ..."

(New York Times despatch from Moscow, May 20)